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Among the vast multitude gathered before the judgment-seat, the Transcendentalists are separately arraigned. Our last extract shall be their confession. Was their creed ever so happily embodied before? We admire the passage equally for the keenness and the justice of its satire. Must not their self-idolatry soon find its "mirror broken," and in like words of contrition own its impious folly?

"In homage, due to goodness, Lord, we bend
To thee, who Goodness art. O Wonderful
Of the create, O Miracle of time!
Thou curdled breath of rare divinity,
Thou soul of Virtue, globed in human eyes,
Eternal Word on ruddy lips incarne!
Too oft on self we gazed, and less on thee:
To-day the mirror 's broken; let it lie,
Since God through thee and us is shining fair.
We would no friend or brother; after us
Thy mother eyes went streaming; flowers the dew,
Harts drink the water-brooks, and we ourselves,
More sweet to us than Jewish muscadine.
Our fount ran dry, alas! good Lord; and now
We bring our empty bowls to thee. We shone,
But inward, oven-suns, none blessed our light;
Lord, bless us; we will bless, unsought, unspent."

ART. IX. *Histoire et Doctrine de la Secte des Cathares ou Albigéois.* Par C. SCHMIDT, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie et au Séminaire Protestant de Strasbourg. Paris et Genève. 1849. 2 vols. 8vo.

AMONG the heretical sects which menaced the safety of the Church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, none is more celebrated than that of the Cathari or Albigenses. Its history is deserving of peculiar attention. The curious system professed by its adherents, in which many of the errors of paganism were so strangely blended with what was most pure and spiritual in Christianity, the heroism with which they struggled against their powerful foes, and the cruelties to which the latter subjected them during that melancholy

crusade which laid waste one of the richest and most flourishing countries of Europe, give to their history an uncommon interest. The origin of the Cathari has been the subject of much controversy ; by some, they have been regarded as the immediate descendants of the early Manicheans ; others have maintained that they derived their doctrines from some Gnostic sect, or from the Priscillianists and the Paulicians or Bogomiles. Mr. Schmidt ascribes to them a Græco-Slavonic origin. According to him, their doctrines originated in Bulgaria at the beginning of the tenth century. The Slavonic population of this country were converted to Christianity so late as the middle of the ninth century by two Greek monks, Methodius and Cyril. These missionaries had allowed the neophytes to preserve their national language in the celebration of the rites of the Church. At a later period, this politic conduct, to which the rapid conversion of the inhabitants was mainly to be ascribed, was abandoned, and the use of the Slavonic dialect in public worship was forbidden by the most stringent regulations. The spirit of opposition to which this persecution of the national language—that most precious jewel of a nation's inheritance—excited among the people was singularly favorable to the growth of heresy. That doctrines like those of the Cathari, in which the instructions of Christianity were so closely mingled with many pagan superstitions, should have been adopted by the people, is accounted for by the recent date of their conversion from heathenism. Their former belief in the existence of an evil spirit, known under the name of Czernebog or Diabol, to whom they rendered a worship equal to that consecrated to God, might well prepare them for the reception of the new heresy, which was founded on the belief in two supreme spirits, the one good and the other evil.

It seems plausible, then, that this system was invented, at the beginning of the tenth century, in some Græco-Slavonic monastery in Bulgaria, where the monks, exasperated by the persecution to which the national language had been subjected, were disposed to shake off the yoke of the Church which had ordered this great wrong. Abandoned, in the solitude of their monastery, to their own meditations and studies, they may have endeavored to form a religious system for themselves, and have arrived at the conclusion that the world is

governed by two principles, and that, in order to become pure (*Kaθαρός*), it is necessary to free the soul from all worldly claims.* If we consider that the traditions of the Manichean heresy had been carefully preserved in the monasteries of the East, and that, consequently, the Greek monks of Bulgaria must have been acquainted with them ; if we remember, too, that the belief that the life of man is a constant struggle with the devil was one of the favorite doctrines of the Middle Ages, it will not appear surprising that their speculations took this form. It was not strange that they should so exaggerate the power of Satan as to consider him at last as the equal of the Deity. But the argument which seems to have the most weight in favor of our author's opinion is, that the translation of the Testament in use among the Cathari of a later period was from the original text commonly used in the Greek Church, and which differed considerably from that adopted by the Latins.

But whatever may have been the origin of the heresy, it is certain that, about the middle of the tenth century, it began to spread rapidly throughout Europe, and at the end of the twelfth, it had attained its greatest development. When, in 1198, Innocent III. ascended the papal throne, the Cathari were numerous throughout the whole south of Europe, and even in Flanders, and parts of Germany and England ; they had succeeded in establishing, in the midst of an orthodox society, an heretical church, firmly organized, and daily acquiring new strength by the zeal of proselytes willing to lay down their lives for their faith.

It was in the south of France that the heresy had the most

* Cathari, from the Greek word *Kaθαρός*, seems to have been the original name of the sect. It was afterwards known under different names, according to the different countries in which it appeared. In Italy, its partisans were commonly called *Patari*, probably from a place of ill repute at Milan where they were in the habit of meeting. In the north of France and in England, they went under the appellation of *Publicani*. The derivation of this name is somewhat obscure, but according to Ducange and Mosheim, it was a corruption of *Pauliciani*, a name by which the crusaders called them on their return from the East. In the south of France, where they were most numerous, they were known under the names of *Textores*, from the large number of weavers who adopted their doctrines ; — and of *Bonshommes* or *Albigenses*, from the territory in which they principally resided. It is by this last name that they are most commonly known. In parts of Italy, they were called *Cazari* or *Gazari*, the Greek θ being pronounced as a *z*. This pronunciation gave rise to the German word *Ketzer*, which afterwards became the generic name for all heretics, as the word *Cathari* had been the generic name of several of the heretical sects of the Middle Ages.

numerous adherents. There it resisted longer than in any other part of Europe the cruel war which the church waged against it ; and it was not until the spirit of the people of Languedoc was broken, and their nationality merged in that of the French, that the sect was finally extirpated. Many causes combined to favor the growth of heresy in these provinces. The state of civilization, which was more advanced than in the northern parts of France, and which gave rise to a feeling of jealousy and rivalry not extinguished until the south was subjected to the sway of the French king, the civil and political liberty which the people enjoyed, and the independent tone which the Troubadours assumed in their writings, — had produced a greater toleration of religious opinions than existed in any other country of Europe. At the time of which we are writing, this toleration was so great that the heretic church was allowed to exist unmolested by the side of its formidable rival ; and it was not unusual to find, in the same family, Catholics and Cathari living at peace with each other. Catholicism had lost many of its adherents by the vices of the clergy and its other professors. Ecclesiastical dignities were monopolized by members of powerful families, who passed their lives in sensual enjoyment. The clergy had become an object of such general contempt, that the saying, "I had rather be a priest than have done this thing," became as proverbial as the former one, "I had rather be a Jew." The Troubadours in sarcastic *sirventes* openly attacked the vices and crimes of the priests and monks. "There is no crime," says one of these poets, "for which absolution may not be obtained. For money, they would give to renegades or usurers that Christian burial which they would refuse to the poor, who have not the means of paying for it. They pass the whole year in luxurious living, buying good fish, very white bread, and exquisite wines."* To this deplorable condition of the clergy, who, as a chronicler of the time expresses it, "instead of feeding their flock, thought only of fleecing them, and what was worse, instead of endeavoring to instruct them, set them the example of every vice," the rapid growth of the sect may be principally ascribed, especially as the pure and virtuous lives of the heretics contrasted so favorably

* Pierre Cardinal, apud Millot, *Hist. de Troubadours.* III. p. 269.

with those of the priests. As the number of the heretics increased, the tithes in many places were no longer paid. The churches, abandoned by the people, were shut up and fell into ruin. On the eve of the great Christian holidays, at the time when these churches had been wont to be crowded with a pious multitude assembled to witness the pomp and splendor of the Catholic service, the populace collected to perform obscene dances or sing profane songs around the deserted altars. The whole Catholic system seemed to be crumbling into dust. Many of the most influential noblemen of the country lent their aid to the heretics, who, under such protection, were enabled to organize their church. It was divided into several dioceses, the principal of which was at Toulouse, where reigned Count Raymond, who had himself joined the sect.

No sooner had Innocent III. been called to the papal throne, than his attention was drawn by the Archbishop of Auch to the suffering condition of the Church in southern France. He at once resolved to devote all his energies to the extirpation of the heresy, which, unless speedily counteracted, would destroy forever the authority of the Romish Church. He regarded it as the sacred mission, which he was called upon to accomplish, to root out not only the heresy, but to exterminate the heretics. He did not look upon them as men whose judgments were erroneous, and who should consequently be converted by the mild appliances of persuasion, but rather as spirits of evil, who labored to corrupt mankind and to lead their followers to perdition. No measures seemed too violent which might accomplish his object. For this he did not hesitate to devastate that beautiful land, which had been the resort of the most learned and accomplished men of the age; for this he was willing, on the ruins of that once prosperous country, to establish the Inquisition, and to erect the scaffold and the stake. Where peace and civilization had reigned, war, — not such as the civilization of modern times has rendered it, — but mediæval war, with all the horrors which the word implies, a war of extermination and ruin, was waged in the name of the Church. Innocent believed that his first and highest duty was to oppose the stream of heretical opinions before it had overwhelmed the Church which he was appointed to defend.

But before we speak of the crusade against the unfortunate Albigenses, it may be proper to present a brief account of their doctrines. The task is not an easy one. All the works written by members of the sect have been lost, and the historian is obliged to have recourse to the writings of their adversaries, in order to obtain any information in respect to their tenets. Hence the confusion and obscurity which prevail in regard to them, and which have even caused some writers to confound the Cathari with other sects,—the Waldenses, for example,—whose doctrines were on many points entirely different. Other writers, distrusting the accounts given of them by Catholic authors, have been led to view them far more favorably than a close examination of the authorities will warrant. Those whose religious opinions incline them to sympathize with all who, in past ages, have opposed the power of Rome, may naturally be unwilling to place confidence in such authorities; but we believe these authorities may be consulted with safety. Many of those who undertook the refutation of the doctrines of the Cathari had once themselves belonged to that sect, and must consequently have been acquainted with its doctrines.* There are books on the subject so voluminous, and giving evidence of such erudition and research, that it seems hardly probable that they could have been written to refute doctrines wholly imaginary. A strong argument in favor of the authority of these works is the fact that, whilst they agree with each other in all essential points, their testimony is corroborated by the depositions of the witnesses and the accused before the Inquisitorial tribunals of France and Italy. It would, indeed, be desirable to have some work written by a Catharist, but none such exist, or have come to light; and from the writings of the adversaries of the heresy we collect the following summary of the doctrines professed by its adherents.

The fundamental principle of the whole system is one which must form the basis of every spiritual religion; namely, that God must contain within himself every perfection. In him there can be nothing evil, nor can any thing bad emanate

* Of these, Reinerius Sacchoni, a native of Piacenza, is the one to whom writers on this subject most frequently refer. His work entitled, *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis* has been published in the fifth volume of the *Thesaurus Novus Anecd.* by Martène and Durand.

from him. From this, the Cathari infer that every thing created by this God must be perfect as he himself is perfect, and that, consequently, as nothing in the visible world is perfect, this world cannot be his work. All created beings are limited in their attributes and full of imperfections. The perfect God cannot, then, have given them life, since, if they proceeded from him, it would be impossible to account for their not being perfect as himself. If he was not able to make them perfect, he is not all-powerful. If he was able, and did not, he must have been actuated by the fear that perfect creatures might become as powerful as himself, and such a feeling cannot be reconciled with the idea of a perfect God. But if the perfect Deity did not create the world, how came it into being? The answer is, an evil spirit must have created it. On the subject of the existence of two principles, a schism took place in the sect at an early period. The original Cathari maintained, that the evil spirit is as absolute and eternal as the good; the new party held, that the evil spirit was a created being, who became evil by his own free-will, and that he will ultimately be overcome and destroyed. We shall examine only the first of these systems, as the one more commonly received. The other never made many proselytes, partly because the absolute ditheism of the primitive Cathari was firmly established when the new system was first proposed, and partly because the moral principles, the mode of worship, and the clerical organization were precisely the same for both parties.

The primitive Cathari founded, as we have said, their belief in two supreme spirits on the supposed impossibility of an imperfect world being the work of a perfect God. They did not fail to back their assertion by scriptural quotations. All the passages alluding to the opposition between the flesh and the spirit, between God and the world, were brought to bear on their theory. The evil spirit, then, in their system, is the creator of all things visible. He presides over them and maintains them. The invisible world, the world of spirits, is the work of the perfect God. It is inhabited by celestial beings composed of a soul and a spiritual body. The opposition between these two divinities and these two creations is eternal. Each of these Gods has his revelation. The Old Testament is the revelation of the evil spirit; that

of the good is to be found in the New Testament. The examples drawn from the two books of the Bible to illustrate their system are too numerous to be cited. The following, however, may give an idea of the value of their reasoning on this point. The God of the Old Testament, say they, created a man and a woman; and in the New Testament it is said, "there is neither male nor female, but ye are all one in Christ Jesus." Jehovah says: "I will put enmity between thee and the woman;" the God of the New Testament wishes, on the contrary, to reconcile all things unto himself. The God of the Old Testament curses; the God of the New blesses. The first repents of what he has done; consequently, what he has done is bad; the second "is the Author of every good and perfect gift."

Such were the reasons on which they founded their belief that the Old and New Testaments are two distinct revelations. Moses, in their opinion, received his instructions from the spirit of evil, and was himself a juggler and an impostor. He is condemned to eternal suffering for having obeyed the orders of his master, and for having commanded his people to wage war against their enemies. All the other writers of the Old Covenant are also reproved, as it is written, "for as many as are of the work of the law are under the curse." The consequence to be derived from this absolute distinction between the two revelations was inevitable. As the Old Testament was the work of the Devil, its laws were not to be obeyed. St. Paul himself has said, "A new covenant has made the first old. Now that which decayeth and waxes old is ready to vanish away."

If it is admitted that the universe is administered by two distinct divinities, the one of whom creates what is material, and the other what is spiritual, the question naturally arises, how does it happen that human souls have fallen under the dominion of evil? To this the answer is, that the heavenly souls, which, as we have seen, were created by the perfect God, were induced to descend upon earth by the machinations of the Evil One. At the same time, the Cathari absolutely deny freewill; for, say they, if the perfect God had created souls endowed with the liberty of doing good or evil, he would himself be the author of evil, which is impossible. How then are these two doctrines to be reconciled? By the

following myth. The spirit of evil, weary of seeing the perfect God reigning over a holy and happy people, and envying them their felicity, penetrated into heaven under the form of an angel of light, and persuaded the heavenly souls to follow him upon earth. Deceived by the form which he had assumed, they consented to follow him and to abandon their God. When the evil spirit had thus acquired dominion over these souls, he confined them in earthly bodies. In thus uniting them to matter, he thought to prevent forever their return to heaven.

This myth, on which the Cathari depended for solving the difficulty which arose from their negation of freewill and their belief in the fall of these heavenly souls, in fact explains nothing. If the inhabitants of heaven did not possess the liberty of choosing between good and evil, how can it be said that they *consented* to follow the Demon to the earth? To say that they were deceived by this spirit of darkness, does not solve the difficulty, for their consent to leave their celestial abode implies the power of refusing to do so, and consequently the liberty of choice. The weakness of the whole system is strongly exemplified here. If it were true that, originally, all souls were perfect, because created by a perfect God; and if, on the other hand, all evil was derived from an evil cause,—if the principle of Aristotle, on which the Cathari founded their belief in the existence of two supreme creators, *contrariorum contraria sunt principia*,—were admissible to such an extent, the inevitable consequence would be that, between the two creations, there could never be any contact. Unable to deny that such a contact really exists, the Cathari were obliged to maintain that the souls of men were those of fallen angels; and as they denied their free-will, they were led to imagine the absurd fable which we have mentioned, the absurdity of which is not a little increased by the fact that it does not at all answer the purpose for which it was intended.

This view of the origin of the human race naturally led the Cathari to believe in the doctrine of metempsychosis. As God takes no part in the creation of evil spirits, all the souls in the world are the same which followed Lucifer from heaven. They have consequently passed through many bodies. Some of the adherents of the sect went so far as to

state through how many bodies each soul must pass. As these souls, however, were created perfect, it is impossible that they should remain forever on earth, which the Cathari regarded as the domain of the Devil and the only hell which exists. All will be ultimately rescued from the power of the Evil One ; all will be saved, and enjoy the immortal life for which they were created. This belief in the redemption of all mankind was so firmly adopted by the sect, that they regarded the doctrine of predestination, as laid down by Augustine, as a monstrous error, contrary to all our notions of the goodness and justice of God.*

In a system which taught the necessity of the salvation of all men, the presence of a Saviour would seem to be wholly unnecessary. But the sect attributed a great work to Jesus Christ. After having permitted the souls, which he had created perfect, to remain many thousand years under the power of the demon in order to expiate their guilt, the perfect God resolved to put a limit to the triumphs of his adversary by sending Jesus Christ upon earth. The Cathari rejected the Catholic view of the nature of Christ. They regarded him as a being created by the Father, but superior to all other created beings. The object of his mission on earth was to remind the captive souls which dwelt there of their celestial origin, to teach them their error with regard to the God in whom they had until then believed, to show them the means by which they could return to the true and perfect Deity, and, finally, to found a Church, in which should be received all those who accept his revelations and obey his laws. As the bodies of men are the work of the evil spirit, and as the perfect spirit of Christ could not dwell in such a body, the sect believed that the Saviour had come into the world with the celestial body with which souls are invested in heaven. It was in this spiritual body alone that he became incarnate, and he appeared in the world without having acquired a single material principle. Hence his language to his supposed mother : — “Woman, what have I to do with thee ?” The

* An adherent of the sect is said to have made use of the following language with regard to this doctrine of Augustine : — “*Quod si teneret illum Deum, qui de mille hominibus ab eo factis, unum salvaret et omnes alios damnaret, ipsum derumperet et dilaceraret unguibus et dentibus tanquam perfidum, et reputabat ipsum esse falsum et perfidum, et spueret in faciem ejus.*” Acts of the Inquisition of Carcassonne, 1247.

body in which Christ appeared on earth had the appearance of humanity, but it had no wants. If he ate, or drank, or slept, it was in order not to reveal his true nature to the Adversary, from whom he had come to rescue the souls of men.

With regard to the miracles wrought by Jesus, they applied to them the words of St. Paul, "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life," and interpreted them all spiritually. The blind, to whom Christ restored their sight, are those blinded by sin; the tomb, from which he called forth Lazarus, is the darkness in which the sinning soul is buried. The bread which he distributed to the multitude is the word of life; the storm which he subdued is the storm of earthly passions. They reproached the Catholics bitterly for believing that Christ could work visible miracles.

We have said that, in this system, one of the principal objects of the mission of Christ was to found a Church, by admission into which men are saved. As it might have been objected, that there was a contradiction between maintaining that all men are saved, and at the same time that, in order to be saved, it is necessary to enter the Church, they obviated the difficulty by saying that, by the necessity of becoming members of the Catharist Church, they merely implied that the adoption of this faith hastened the moment when the souls of men should once more return to their celestial abode. It might also have been objected, that thousands of men had died before the Catharist doctrines were known. Were they to be eternally miserable? This objection they answered by referring to their doctrine of the transmigration of souls. The souls of those who had died before the coming of Christ passed through different bodies, until, at last, by being received into the Catharist Church, they were reconciled to God. In taking such a view of the salvation of mankind, it will be seen that death could not have the same meaning for all men. To those who have accomplished their expiation by being admitted to the Church, it is the termination of their sufferings in this world; freed from the shackles of matter, their souls again participate in the glory and happiness for which they were created. For those, on the contrary, who have not accomplished their period of penance, death is but the passage from one body to another. The heavenly souls, which had been seduced by the evil spirit, had abandoned

their celestial bodies before descending upon earth. When they are again relieved from their bondage, they will take possession of these bodies. This was what the Cathari understood by the resurrection of the body.

If we look only to the peculiar tenets of the Cathari, considered as matter of mere speculation, it seems difficult to understand how so many Protestant writers should have claimed them as brethren, and almost asserted their orthodoxy. Their system, however, was practically established, and as often happens, the practice was much better than what might be legitimately inferred from the doctrine. We cannot but admire the purity and holiness of the lives of these heretics, and we wonder at the simple and spiritual form of worship which they established at a time when the Catholic church was displaying the full magnificence of its ritual, and cumbering the simplicity of Christianity with the invocation of saints and the exposition of relics and images.

The whole practical tendency of the system which we have sketched must have been to free man from all attachment to the things of this earth. The world was the work of the spirit of evil. The only way of resisting sin, and effecting a total change of life, was to enter the church. Those who were admitted to the church received the sacrament called the *consolamentum*, and were then considered as freed from all impurity, and they received the name of *perfect*. After they had attained this desirable condition, they did not pass their lives, as might have been expected, in idle meditation, awaiting the moment when their souls should be permitted to cast off the bodies in which they had been confined. They went from place to place, preaching and giving instruction, and also administering the *consolamentum* to those whom they deemed worthy. "We lead," said one of them, when summoned before the tribunal of the Inquisition at Carcassonne, "a hard and wandering life; we flee from place to place, like sheep in the midst of wolves; we suffer persecution like the apostles and martyrs, and yet our life is holy and austere. It is passed in abstinence, in prayer, and in labors which nothing can interrupt; but to us every thing is easy, for we no longer belong to the world." Their life might well be called austere. The *perfect* were to take vows of poverty and chastity, and never to resort to arms, even in self-defence.

They were to avoid taking the life of an animal, for they held that the souls of men sometimes passed into the bodies of animals. They were to abstain from meat, milk, eggs, and cheese, because all animal food is the work of the Devil. Vegetables, fruits, bread, the oil of olives, and wine, furnished their repasts. They believed that no sin was greater than marriage, which they would not distinguish from adultery or concubinage. They founded this doctrine on the words of our Saviour, "The children of this world marry and are given in marriage ; but they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage." The *perfect* Cathari were generally clothed in black, and carried under their cloak a leathern pouch containing a copy of the New Testament, which they never laid aside. They had peculiar signs by which they recognized each other ; and even the houses in which they lived were marked in such a manner as to be easily discovered by the initiated. When they travelled, they were received everywhere with the greatest kindness. If they stopped in a village or a castle, they were waited upon by the inhabitants. Even the most powerful noblemen deemed it an honor to serve them at table.

These honors compensated but poorly, however, for the hardships and privations which they were obliged to undergo, and the number of the *perfect* was never very large. But the number of believers was very considerable. These, who were called *credentes*, were not subjected to the same rigorous discipline as the *perfect*. They might marry, make war, and eat of whatever food nature afforded, provided they confessed these sins to the *perfect*. But unless they received the *consolamentum* before they died, they could not be immediately saved. The *consolamentum* was therefore frequently administered to the *credentes* on their death-bed. This holy rite was not, however, indiscriminately administered to all those who demanded it. An attempt was made first to ascertain whether the dying person demanded it from conviction, or only to make sure of heaven by this means. Thus, we read that it was refused to a woman on the ground that it would be difficult for her to adopt the strict life of the *perfect*, in case she recovered. In some instances, for fear that those who had received the rite might again fall into sin if they re-

covered, the *perfect* ordered them to allow themselves to die of hunger. Horrible as this may seem, it was but a natural consequence of the whole Catharist system. It is singular, indeed, that suicide should not have become a common occurrence amongst its adherents. It could certainly not be regarded as a crime to destroy that body, which was the work of the spirit of darkness, and only impeded the progress of the soul.

From what has already been said, it is evident that, like many reformers of a later day, the Cathari were no less intolerant than their persecutors. Their church was the only true church, out of which there was no salvation ; they were the descendants of the early apostles, the people of God upon earth, for their church alone was composed of none but perfect members. How, indeed, demanded they, could the Catholic church, which counted among its members so many men abandoned to every vice, how could it be the "glorious church" of which St. Paul speaks, "having neither spot, nor wrinkle, nor any such thing, but being holy and without blemish ?" But their church represented the Christian church in its primitive simplicity. They believed, also, and in this respect they seem to have erred less, that their worship was of the same character with that of the early Christians. The more spiritual the mode of worship, the more they believed it to be in harmony with the instructions of the Saviour. To adore God no particular place seemed to them necessary, no vain and useless ceremonies need be observed. In those places where they enjoyed the most liberty, however, they had erected edifices for the purposes of worship. In them there were no ornaments. A bench or table, covered with a white cloth, took the place of an altar. On this the New Testament was always open at the first chapter of the Gospel according to John. No bells admonished the faithful of the hour of worship, for they regarded the bells which had so long summoned men to what they deemed an idolatrous worship, as an invention of the Devil. The forms of worship were as simple as the buildings in which it was celebrated. The service was performed either by a minister of the sect, or by one of the *perfect*. It commenced by the reading of passages from the New Testament, which were afterwards explained according to the doctrines of the sect ; and this was

followed by a benediction. Afterwards, the whole assembly joined in the Lord's prayer, the only prayer which they ever used.

The Cathari only recognized two sacraments, the *consolamentum* and the benediction of bread, or communion. The first of these, which, as we have seen, was of such vast importance, consisted merely in a minister, or one of the *perfect*, laying his hands on the disciple, who wished to be admitted to a full communion with the church, and invoking the blessing of God upon him. It held the place of the Catholic baptism. It was necessary to prepare by abstinence and prayer for this solemn rite. For three days previous to the ceremony, the candidate was not to partake of any food. When he was thus prepared, he was introduced in silence into the sanctuary, where the worship was performed. There, the minister, holding in his hands the Testament, instructed the neophyte in the tenets of the sect, informing him of the austere life which he would have to lead when once admitted into the true Church, warning him at the same time to beware of the Church of Rome, and to persevere unto death in the new faith, by which alone he could attain to immortal life. The neophyte then demanded and received the benediction in the usual form, and the minister handed him the Testament to kiss, and finally placed it on his head, whilst the other *perfect* who were present advanced and touched him, thus signifying that he was now their brother. The ceremony closed with the usual church service.

As to the other sacrament of the Albigenses, the benediction or breaking of bread, it took place at first at every meal at which one of the *perfect* was present. Before sitting down to the table, one of them took some bread, and breaking it, handed it to those who were present, saying, "May the grace of our Lord be with you." But when the persecutions against the sect commenced, this practice was limited to the great religious festivals at Easter and Christmas. This ceremony, as may be conjectured from the whole Catharist system, was viewed only as a symbol of the union of the members of the early Christian church. To these reformers, as to many of those of a later day, the bread with which they communed underwent no mysterious change by the words of the minister. They did not interpret literally the words of the Saviour,

“ This is my body ; ” but considered the doctrine of transubstantiation as highly blasphemous. “ The priests,” said they, “ make gods of paste, and afterwards eat them ! How can the body of Christ, that spiritual body, which had only been manifested in the world as a real body, be contained in a piece of bread, which, like all things material, is the work of the Demon ? ”

In spite of the virtues practised by the Cathari, they did not, any more than the early Christians, escape the calumnies of their enemies. The power they ascribed to the spirit of evil, and the mystery with which they assembled to worship, led the ignorant people to believe that they adored the Devil, and to imagine that their nocturnal meetings were consecrated to every species of wickedness. They were accused of holding the most absurd and licentious doctrines. There does not seem to have been any foundation for such accusations, and, indeed, many of the Catholic writers of their day cannot refrain from rendering a homage to their virtues, and even cite their zeal for the propagation of their faith as an example to be followed by all Christians. They were, unquestionably, most ardently attached to their church, and willingly encountered every danger to extend its dominion. They compassed Europe for the purpose of making proselytes. Sometimes, they went about openly preaching their doctrines ; at other periods, they would visit, as merchants, the great towns, in which annual fairs were held, in the hope of gaining over many souls from the large concourse of men from every country which assembled at these periods. Nor were their efforts unsuccessful. While their preaching was listened to with delight, their simple and austere life deeply impressed those whom they encountered in their travels ; and many were induced to imitate their example, that they might share with them the glories of eternal life.

We have said that Innocent III. was no sooner raised to the pontificate than he determined to arrest the progress of this sect, and, if possible, to erase its name from the memory of man. His first step was to direct a letter to the archbishops and bishops of southern France, in which he said that, owing to the rapid growth of the heresy, he had determined to send Reinerius and Guido, two men of much learning, as his legates to Languedoc, to endeavor to bring back

the erring to the true church. To these two legates he gave full powers. Their first duty would be to excommunicate the heretics, and to confiscate their possessions. If they did not then yield, the legates were to call upon the noblemen of the country to take up arms against them. Reinerius and Guido effected nothing ; and in 1203, the Pope appointed two Cistercian monks, Raoul and Pierre de Castelnau, to be his legates. The unlimited authority with which he clothed these emissaries rather retarded than favored his plans ; for the clergy, irritated by the arrogant bearing which they assumed, refused to act in concert with them. Arnauld Amalric, Abbot of Citeaux, was joined with them ; but fearing that even this powerful auxiliary would not enable them to carry out his views, Innocent ordered them to preach a crusade against the heretics, and he wrote a letter to Philip Augustus, in which he represented to that monarch, that the time had now come for the spiritual and temporal powers to unite for the defence of the church. He declared it to be Philip's duty, as one of the most powerful princes of Christendom, to use his authority against the heretics, and that if he was unable himself to command an army, he should send his son in his place. Philip was not moved by this language ; he was far too prudent to embark in an undertaking the issue of which seemed then so uncertain.

Meanwhile, Foulques of Marseilles had been appointed bishop of Toulouse. The youth of this prelate had been passed amidst the licentious pleasures of the Troubadours. He was himself a proficient in the gay science, and by his songs had charmed many a fair lady. He abandoned all this and entered a convent, where in appearance he renounced the world ; but in truth, he was still pursuing self-gratification, he had only changed the object of his passion. "He had devoted," says a French writer, "one half of his life to gallantry, he gave up the other without hesitation to the cause of tyranny, murder, and plunder." He proved a powerful auxiliary to the legates in their work of persecution. The legates were also joined by twelve Cistercian monks. Thus prepared, they set out, clad in sumptuous attire, and attended by a splendid retinue, to preach the gospel of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the country. The people murmured. One day, these luxurious apostles chanced to meet

Diego d' Azebès, Bishop of Osma, and Dominic, one of his canons, who were just returning from Rome. The Bishop was astonished at such indecent display on the part of Christian missionaries, and seriously remonstrated with them. "It is not thus," he said, "but on foot, that you should march against the heretics." The Cistercians followed his advice, and he and his companion became their active coadjutors.

Thus the Bishop of Osma, and Dominic, whose name was afterwards to acquire a great celebrity, began to preach against the Albigenses. They went together from place to place, everywhere entering into theological discussions with the heretics, and endeavoring to convince them of their errors. However easy it might be for the Catholics to overcome the Cathari in argument, they made no progress in converting them, and still less in expelling them from the country. In those places where the heretics were most numerous, when the Catholic inhabitants were asked why they did not drive them out, they replied, "we cannot; we have grown up with them, and we know the purity, the sanctity, of their lives." The people heaped insults on the missionaries; they threw dirt at the Bishop and at Dominic, and spat upon them. The bishop was so irritated that he called loudly upon the Lord "to let His hand fall heavily upon the heretics, as chastisement alone could open their eyes." Shortly afterwards he returned to Spain. The monks who had come from Citeaux, and who now began to despair of success, went back to their convent, and Pierre de Castelnau and Dominic were left alone to conduct the work of persecution.

We have already said that Raymond, Count of Toulouse, one of the most powerful noblemen in the south of France, favored the heretics. From an early age he had associated with them, and when he succeeded his father, in 1194, he openly protected them, and always retained a number of the perfect at his court to administer the *consolamentum* to him in case he should be suddenly taken ill. The Pope endeavored to induce him to banish the Cathari from his dominions; and when he steadfastly refused, he was solemnly excommunicated. At the same time, the legate excited the neighboring barons to make war on Raymond, who, fearing an invasion of his territory, now promised submission to the Pope. But this reconciliation with Rome did not last long. Pierre de

Castelnau publicly upbraided him for his want of faith in not expelling the heretics, and again excommunicated him. The Count lost his temper, replied angrily, and threatened Pierre with death. This imprudent speech was eagerly caught at by one of the Count's attendants, who pursued the legate, and killed him as he was about to embark in a boat on the Rhone.

The murder of the papal legate was the signal for the crusade which had been so long meditated. The Pope, exasperated at so daring a violation of his pontifical authority, called upon the princes of Christendom to avenge the desecrated majesty of the Church. He immediately ordered the bishops of Provence to preach a crusade against the unhappy Count and his heretic subjects, who were worse than the infidel Saracens. "And as," added he in his circular to the bishops, "according to the holy Fathers, it is not necessary for one to keep his faith with those who do not keep theirs towards God, or who have separated from the communion of the faithful, we, in virtue of our apostolic authority, release from their allegiance all those who think they owe obedience to the Count, and we permit any Catholic to pursue him, and to occupy and take possession of his dominions."

The king of France and his barons were also entreated to enter without delay upon this holy war against the excommunicated Count. The abbot Arnauld, and Navarre d'Aix, the new papal legate, went preaching the crusade throughout the country. To those who should enlist in the sacred cause, Innocent promised the same indulgences as to those who visited the Holy Land. Many were even allowed to change their vow of an expedition against the Saracens for one against the Albigenses. It may readily be conceived how many were glad to avail themselves of so favorable an opportunity of fulfilling a religious duty without making a dangerous voyage across the sea, and thus to expiate a life of guilt and crime. Instead of those distant expeditions, in which so many Christians perished by the arm of the infidel, or by famine and sickness, an enterprise now offered itself, in which, to use the words of the priests who exhorted the barons to take up arms, "the labor was but small, the distance short, and yet the recompense eternal." It must not be supposed,

however, that all those who enlisted were actuated by such pious motives. Many joined the army from the hope of rich plunder; others, from the north of France, were actuated by a jealousy towards the south, a jealousy so strong that Innocent did not fail to discover it and to avail himself of it. Thus a large army was formed.

Raymond, to whose wavering and cowardly bearing on this occasion may perhaps be ascribed the success of the crusade, was so alarmed at the approach of this powerful body, that he asked to be reconciled to the Church, and even consented to assume the cross himself. Innocent, acting according to his favorite maxim, that dissimulation is allowable towards heretics, consented to receive the Count once more into the bosom of the Church, rightly thinking that it would be easier for him to crush the heretics with their most powerful protector enlisted on his side. He reflected, too, that when the other barons who favored the heresy were reduced, it would be far less difficult to break with Raymond and plunge him in irretrievable ruin.

It was in the church of St. Gilles, where the remains of Pierre de Castelnau had been interred, that Raymond was admitted to the sacraments of the church. There, in presence of some twenty bishops, he was obliged to take a solemn oath upon the Eucharist and certain holy relics to persecute, by every means in his power, the heretic Albigenses. He was then stripped of his clothes, and a priest having fastened a stole round his neck, led him nine times round the church, scourging him all the while with a whip. After this ceremony, he was admitted to receive absolution.

Influenced by the example of the Count de Toulouse, his nephew, Raymond Roger, Viscount of Béziers, who was well known as one of the partisans of the sect, offered to make his peace with the Church. The Pope refused this, as he thought he might subdue him by other means. The Viscount, finding that no other course was left him, immediately prepared for war. Leaving a large garrison in the town of Béziers, he himself retired to Carcassonne, where he made every effort to impede the progress of the invading army. Meanwhile the crusaders, clad in their heavy armor, but wearing on their breast the holy sign of the cross, and carrying in their hands the pilgrim staff, to show in what a sacred cause they had

engaged, were advancing under the command of Arnauld, the Abbot of Citeaux, through the valley of the Rhone, by Lyons, Valence, Montelimart, and Avignon. At Valence, they were met by the Count de Toulouse, who now completed his disgrace by actually taking up arms against his persecuted countrymen, whom he unquestionably favored at heart.

On the twenty-second of July, 1209, the army laid siege to the town of Béziers. Reginald de Montpeyroux, bishop of the city, who joined the crusaders, having been admitted within the walls, assembled the inhabitants in the church of St. Nicaise, and exhorted them to yield before the vengeance of God and the Church should fall upon them. "Go and tell the legate who sent you," was their reply, "that our city is strong and good, that our Lord will not fail to assist us in our present misfortunes, and that, before we would be guilty of the cowardly act which you demand of us, we would eat our own children." The bishop then returned to the army, full of grief at the ill success of his endeavors to save the unhappy inhabitants from their fate. When their bold reply was repeated to Arnauld, he solemnly declared that not one stone in the city should remain on another, and not one life should be spared. This promise was but too strictly adhered to. The town was taken, and when the leaders of the army asked of the bloodthirsty abbot what they should do, as they could not distinguish the heretics and the catholics; "Kill them all," was the reply; "God will know His own!" Thus was perpetrated one of the most horrible massacres recorded in history. Although there exists considerable discrepancy among writers as to the exact number of persons who perished, it is certain that not less than twenty thousand were sacrificed to the blind fury of fanaticism. The town was set on fire and entirely destroyed.

From Béziers the army proceeded to Carcassonne, where they arrived on the first of August, having laid waste the whole intermediate country. The city was attacked amidst the holy chants of the church. Peter of Arragon, who was the liege lord of Béziers and Carcassonne, had come to endeavor to make peace between his vassal and the crusaders. All he was able to obtain, however, was that the Viscount should be allowed to leave the city with twelve of his followers, pro-

vided all the other inhabitants were abandoned to the invaders. When Roger heard this proposition, he exclaimed that he had rather be flayed alive than consent to it. "The legate," said he, "shall not lay hand on the least of my followers, for it is I who have brought them into danger." This noble reply availed him nothing. The city fell into the hands of the merciless enemy; some of the inhabitants succeeded in escaping through a secret passage, and the others were put to the sword. As for the Viscount, he was arrested in spite of a safe conduct which he had obtained, and was held prisoner in the fortress, where he soon afterwards died, as many supposed, from the effects of poison.

After the taking of Carcassonne, the Abbot of Citeaux assembled the principal noblemen in the army, in order to select one to take charge of the administration of the conquered country, or, as M. Michelet expresses it, in his spirited history of France, "to keep watch in arms over the bodies of the dead, and over the ashes of ruined cities." The Duke of Burgundy and the Counts of Nevers and St. Pol generously refused the offer which was made them, saying that they had come to fight against the heretics, and not to deprive the Viscount of Béziers of his dominions. Simon, Count of Montfort, was less scrupulous, and after an affected hesitation, he accepted the office. This man, whose name is connected with the most bloody scenes of the war, had but recently returned from the Holy Land, where he had been distinguished not less for his valor than for his blind submission to the Church, and his rigorous observance of its rites. Without compassion, when his fanaticism was excited, he was yet kind to his followers, and ever considerate of their wants. Many anecdotes are related of the strictness of his morals, and his humanity towards the female prisoners who fell into his hands. These virtues, uncommon as they were in those times, cannot efface the recollection of the misfortunes which he brought upon the flourishing provinces that he was appointed to govern. Unable even to read, he felt no regard for learning and civilization. He seemed to have but one thought, that of crushing the heresy. The Church could not have found a man better suited to carry out her views, and in her gratitude she called him the champion of the cause of God.

It seemed as if nothing now remained to be done but to con-

vert the remaining heretics. The possessions of the Viscount of Béziers, the most powerful protector of the Cathari since Raymond of Toulouse had abandoned their cause, had been wrested from him, and the crusade appeared to be at an end. But success had inflamed the ambition of Simon de Montfort, and he resolved to continue the war until all the provinces which the heresy had penetrated should be subjected to his sway. His first act, on taking possession of his new dominions, was to order that the tithes should be immediately paid. He also established new taxes in favor of the Church, and carried measures generally with so high a hand, that the barons, who had come to take part in the war, and were already disgusted with the many scenes of cruelty and bad faith they had witnessed, hastened to return to their own dominions. Simon thus found himself almost entirely abandoned. He was not discouraged, however, and even ventured to demand of the Count of Toulouse certain of his subjects who were suspected of heresy, threatening him with an invasion of his territory if he did not comply. So insolent a message roused Raymond from his apathy. He boldly replied that he did not recognize the authority of Simon, and that he would only obey the mandates of the Pope. Thereupon the legate excommunicated him, and the Count resolved to go to Rome in order to complain to the Pope himself of the manner in which he had been treated. He arrived at Rome at the beginning of the year 1210, and was graciously received by the Holy Father, who refused, however, to permit him to justify himself in his presence, as the Count had demanded, but referred him to a council to be held at St. Gilles in three months from that time. Raymond, disheartened, hastened to leave Rome, "where," says a chronicler, "he was greatly afraid of falling ill," and returned to Toulouse. At the appointed time, he appeared before the council of St. Gilles, where he was examined by Arnauld and his associate, the canon Theodosius. He declared that all the conditions of his reconciliation with Rome had been faithfully fulfilled. His inquisitors denied this, and reproached him with not having exterminated all the heretics in his dominions. The Count could not restrain his tears, and the sentence of excommunication was solemnly confirmed against him.

Meanwhile, Simon de Montfort had succeeded in levying a

new army, and had commenced attacking the castles in the neighborhood of his dominions, which still served as places of refuge for the heretics, who had been compelled to abandon the cities. One of their principal strongholds was the castle of Minerve, in the vicinity of Narbonne, to which Montfort laid siege. It held out for a long time, but was at last obliged to yield to the superior force of the assailants. One of the articles of the capitulation was, that those who would abjure their heretical opinions should be allowed to leave the fortress unmolested. As some of the crusaders murmured against this stipulation, by which they thought they might be deprived of some of their victims, Arnauld reproved them, saying, "Be not alarmed; I know these heretics. Not one will recant." Arnauld judged rightly. A priest, Guy de Vaux Cernay, was entrusted with the task of conversion; but his endeavors were vain. After they had listened for some time to his eloquent exhortations, they replied, "We do not wish for your faith. We have renounced the Church of Rome. You labor in vain, for neither in life nor in death will we renounce the opinions which we have formed." Thereupon Count Simon ordered that one hundred and forty of them should be publicly burnt. This horrible death did not damp the ardor of their enthusiasm, and they hastened to throw themselves into the flames. After this, the gates of many other castles were opened to the crusaders by their tenants, who feared a similar fate to that which had befallen the unhappy inhabitants of Minerve. It was now evident that the only course which remained for Raymond was to endeavor to resist by force the invasion with which he was threatened by Simon.

As yet there had been no open hostilities between these two men. The ambitious leader of the crusaders was only waiting, however, for a pretext to attack the Count, and this was easily found. In the spring of 1211, Montfort had taken the castle of Lavaur, one of the strongholds of the heretics. During the siege, Raymond had neglected to furnish the army with provisions. This was considered as a sufficient cause of complaint against one who had incurred the displeasure of the Church, and hostilities commenced. After two years of alternate success, the Count of Toulouse was reduced, in 1213, to the possession of the city of Toulouse and

a few of the neighboring towns. He then called upon the king of Arragon to come to his assistance. Don Pedro generously responded to this appeal, and his first step was to send deputies to Rome to remonstrate with the Pope against the conduct of Simon of Montfort. They represented to the Pope that, not content with occupying all the places inhabited by heretics, the leaders of the crusade had stretched out their greedy hands towards lands whose inhabitants were not even suspected of heresy ; that they had obstinately refused to hear the justification of the Count, although the latter was ready to submit to every thing, even to exile, provided his dominions might pass into the hands of his son. The Pope listened with seeming interest to their complaints, and ordered his legates to convene a council, in which it should be decided whether the Count might be admitted to justify himself. As might easily have been foreseen, this favor was denied to the unfortunate Raymond. The king of Arragon was greatly irritated, and solemnly took the excommunicated prince under his protection. On the 12th of September, 1213, he laid siege to the little town of Muret, situated a few miles only from Toulouse. When Montfort heard of this, he hastened with the few troops he could muster to the rescue of the inhabitants. Such was the ardent confidence in the justice of his cause which upheld him in all his perils, that he did not hesitate with his few followers to attack the large force which Pedro had collected under the walls of Muret. During this battle, which decided the fate of the Albigenses, two French cavaliers had agreed to attack the king himself, and not to assail any less noble opponent. Pedro had doubtless been warned of this plan, for he had exchanged armor with one of his followers. The knights attacked the person who wore the king's armor, but seeing how readily he yielded under their blows, one of them exclaimed, "It is not the king ; he is a better knight !" "True," cried Don Pedro, who was standing near ; "it is not he ; I am the king !" This bold declaration cost him his life ; and the army was so disconcerted by the death of its leader, that Montfort soon succeeded in making himself master of the field.

Flushed with this important victory, he hastened on to Toulouse, which did not even attempt resistance. Raymond, despairing of his cause, and counting no longer either

on the Pope or the king of France, retired with his son to England, where he did homage to the English monarch for the county of Toulouse. He was not wrong in renouncing all hope in Philip Augustus; for no sooner did that prince see that there was not any chance of success for the Count, than he allowed his son Louis to lead an army into the South. It was in company with that prince that Simon de Montfort entered Toulouse, and added the city and county to his former possessions.

About this time, November, 1215, the celebrated council of Lateran was opened at Rome. It was one of the most imposing the Church had ever witnessed. It had been assembled for the purpose of legislating about the heretics, and of settling definitely the quarrel between Count Raymond and the Church. It was in vain that the Count himself went to Rome to plead his cause. His enemies were too powerful for him, and the council pronounced against him. Such was the power of the Church, that not a voice was raised against this iniquitous sentence. Not even the king of France, whose interest it certainly was to protect a vassal, opposed it. On the contrary, he shortly afterwards allowed Simon to do homage for those provinces, "which had been possessed by Raymond, *formerly* Count of Toulouse."

The council did not separate without sanctioning a project which, when matured and carried into execution, was to have the most important results for the Romish Church. The Spaniard Dominic, renowned alike for his piety, eloquence, and charity, who, as we have seen, took an active part in the events which occurred during the first years of the persecution of the Cathari, had formed the plan of founding a new religious order. It was while engaged in the conversion of the heretics, that he had been deeply impressed by the influence which the Catharist preachers exercised over the people, and had thought that the best means of counteracting this effect was to imitate their example, and to oppose to the poor and apostolic life of the Cathari, the life no less austere of monks devoted to poverty. He thus conceived the plan of establishing a religious order, whose members should go from place to place, preaching the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Before putting this scheme into execution, he proceeded to Rome to communicate it to the Pope. Innocent at first listened with dis-

trust, and refused to favor the plan. "But night, that divine counsellor of men," says a Catholic writer, "brought him better thoughts. Whilst he was sleeping profoundly, it seemed to him that he saw the church of St. John of Lateran, and Dominic leaning against it, and supporting on his shoulders its tottering walls. On the morrow, he sent for the holy man, and ordered him to return to France to his companions, to agree with them upon the establishment of the order."* It was not until 1216, however, after the death of Pope Innocent, that the order of Dominican or Preaching Friars was fully organized and sanctioned by papal authority. At the death of Dominic, in 1221, no less than sixty monasteries of this order existed, and the friars had commenced a zealous and successful warfare against the heretics.

The severity of the sentence pronounced against Count Raymond had excited the indignation of his former subjects. He resolved to take advantage of this disposition in his favor, and to attempt to regain those dominions of which he had been so unjustly deprived. He landed at Marseilles with his son, where they were both received with acclamations. Many noblemen, who had formerly opposed them, now hastened to take up arms in their cause, and they proceeded in triumph to Toulouse, their capital, which they succeeded in rescuing from their enemies. Simon de Montfort hastened with his troops to lay siege to this place; but the city was so well defended, that he was compelled to apply to Philip Augustus for aid. The king sent him some troops, but they had scarcely arrived, when, on the 25th of June, 1218, Montfort was killed by a stone thrown from the ramparts. His death was bewailed by his followers as if he had been a martyr; and the consternation produced by it was so great, that his son Amaury was obliged to raise the siege, and to retire to Carcassonne, where his father's remains were solemnly interred. A contemporary poet cites the epitaph placed on his tomb, and eloquently exclaims, "To him, who can read it aright, this epitaph says that he is a saint and martyr, and that he will rise to eternal life, there to wear a crown and be seated on a throne. And surely it must be so, if, as I have heard, by killing men and shedding blood, ruin-

* *Mémoires pour servir au Rétablissement de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs en France*, by the eloquent Dominican preacher, Lacordaire.

ing souls and consenting to murders, listening to false counsel and lighting horrible fires, destroying the barons and degrading the nobility, depriving men of their lands and encouraging violence, strangling women and innocent children,—if by such means, a man can in this world gain the kingdom of Christ, then the Count must indeed wear a crown, and shine resplendent in Heaven.”*

Neither the death of Montfort, nor that of Raymond, which occurred in 1223, put an end to the war. It was continued by their successors. A new crusade was preached against Raymond VII., who had succeeded his father, and Louis VIII. of France headed the army. In 1229, both parties, exhausted by the war, and ardently desiring to put an end to it, agreed to sign a treaty of peace at Meaux. On the 12th of April of that year, the Count of Toulouse solemnly swore, in the great church of Notre Dame, in Paris, to observe this treaty, humiliating to him as its stipulations were. By this act, he promised allegiance to the king of France, and thus prepared the way for the final destruction of the independence of the South.

“ Thus terminated,” says Mr. Schmidt, “ the war against the Albigenses. It was productive of the most important consequences, as well for Languedoc as for the rest of France. At first, the destruction of the heresy had been not only the pretext, but the real cause, of the war; soon, however, this ceased to be any thing more than a pretext to obtain objects, in which the interests of the Catholic faith were but little concerned. Political and national interests were soon blended with those of the Church, and it was not long before they formed the principal motives for continuing the war, although they were still veiled under the name of religion. This war was one between the citizens and knights of the south and the northern barons, who were allied with a fanatic and ambitious clergy. It was a war of violence against right, and, as a poet expresses it,—‘ of fraud against honesty.’ It prepared the way for the extinction of the nationality peculiar to the south of France, and the amalgamation of this generous and illustrious population with the rest of the nation. If this result is one in which we should rejoice, the honor of it does not belong to those who effected it from motives of ven-

* See “*Histoire en Vers de la Croisade contre les Herétiques Albigéens*,” published by the late M. Fauriel, in the valuable Collection of Documents relating to the History of France, and which contains one of the most complete accounts of the Crusade.

gence or hatred, but to that Divine Providence, which is able to make the evil actions of men work for good. As far as the primitive object of the crusade, the extirpation of heresy, is concerned, it is certain that the crusade did not accomplish it. The heresy continued to reign with as much power in Languedoc after the crusade, as when Innocent III. first undertook to destroy it by the force of arms. The indignation to which the horrors committed during the war, the ruin of the prosperity of the country, the destruction of its nationality and religious independence, and of the joyous and poetic mode of life in the south, gave rise, lent new strength to the heresy. For the nobility, as well as the other classes of society, attributed the misfortunes which befell their country, not merely to the cruelty of the northern French, but still more to the perfidiousness and fanaticism of the clergy. To the *cours d'amour* had succeeded the tribunals of the Inquisition ; the gay science had made way for an ardent theological controversy, the principal argument of which was the stake. Instead of the poets and story-tellers who had travelled through the country, only the gloomy figures of monks could be seen ; and in that land where formerly the glorious exploits of past ages had been sung, nothing was heard but sermons urging the population to religious persecution. Many castles were occupied by the foreign conquerors, whilst the former inmates, excommunicated by the Church, lived either in exile or hidden in the thick forest. It is easy to imagine the effect which such a change must have produced on the ardent imagination of the inhabitants of these southern climes. Far from becoming more attached to the Church, they conceived against it an implacable hatred. This feeling bursts forth with energy in the lays of the last Provençal poets, who complain bitterly that all their pleasures have faded away. They no longer sing either love or chivalry. They only write to lament the decline of their native country, and to accuse the French, the clergy, and above all, the Pope. These lays, which breathe only sadness or revenge, were eagerly listened to by a people so easily moved by the power of poetry ; they kept up that feeling of enmity which made them regard the French of the north as oppressors, and by fortifying them in their resistance to a Church, which, in order to gain them over to her faith, had had recourse to such barbarous means, confirmed them in their attachment to the Catharist sect."

Owing to these circumstances, it was not till the middle of the fourteenth century that the heresy entirely disappeared. The persecutions of the Inquisition were at last successful. The temporal and spiritual power were closely associated in the work of destruction. The archives of the tribunals of the

Inquisition established in Languedoc bear witness to the zeal with which this odious persecution was carried on. Abandoned by the powerful barons, who had so long protected them, and weakened in numbers, the Cathari ceased to resist, and gradually renounced their faith. But the spirit which had so long sustained them in opposition was not crushed. Other heretics arose in their place ; and when, after several centuries, owing to the progress of civilization, and, above all, to the invention of printing, an irretrievable schism took place in the Church, it was in those cities, in those parts of the country where the Cathari had been the most numerous, that Protestant communities were most firmly established. It is, indeed, a spiritual affinity between the faith of the Cathari and that of Protestants which makes us sympathize with the former, rather than any positive resemblance between their doctrines and those of the modern Reformers. Viewed as a theological or a philosophical system, the Catharist heresy would be entitled to little respect ; but the spirit of those who, in adopting it, opposed the power of Rome and endeavored to reform its abuses, must strongly excite our admiration. The system itself is so defective, it gives such erroneous views of man and of his relations to his Creator, it is so strongly imbued with errors derived from paganism, that it could only have been so widely spread as it was in a rude age and among an illiterate people. And it is doubtful whether it would have found so many believers even in such an age, had it not been for the many circumstances which combined to favor its growth. The contrast which the pure lives of the Cathari offered to those of the Catholic clergy, the comparative simplicity of their worship, and above all, the violent measures to which the Church resorted in order to extirpate the heresy, could not have failed to gain many over to their cause. Religious liberty, the liberty of the human mind to speculate on the highest subjects offered to its meditation, and to conclude according to the degree of light which has been imparted to it, cannot be destroyed by such means as the Catholic Church adopted against the Cathari. The more it is persecuted, the more powerful it becomes. Those who proclaim its sacred principles before the time marked by Providence for their reception may perish, but from their ashes will arise others, who in their turn will strive for this

noble cause, and ultimately triumph. Thus it was with the Cathari. They, like many other of the heretical sects of the Middle Ages, were but the predecessors of more fortunate reformers, who, coming at a more enlightened period of the world's history, were enabled to establish on an imperishable basis the religious freedom of mankind.

ART. X.—1. *Les Guerres d'Idiome et de Nationalité : Tableaux, Esquisses, et Souvenirs d'Histoire Contemporaine.*

Par M. PAUL DE BOURGOING, Ancien Ministre de France en Russie et en Allemagne. Paris. 1849.

2. *Austria.* By EDWARD P. THOMPSON, Esq., Author of "Life in Russia, or the Discipline of Despotism." London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1849. 12mo. pp. 419.
3. *The Annual Register, or a View of the History and Politics of the Year 1848.* London: F. & J. Rivington. 1849. 8vo. pp. 456 & 483.
4. *A Brief Explanatory Report as to the Termination of the Hungarian Struggle, the Capitulation of the Fortress of Comorn, and the Objects, Probable Extent, and Other Circumstances of the Hungarian Emigration.* New York: J. M. Elliott, Printer. 1850. 8vo. pp. 22.

GOLDSMITH tells us, in one of his delightful essays, that "an alehouse-keeper near Islington, who had long lived at the sign of the French king, upon the commencement of the last war with France, pulled down his old sign, and put up the Queen of Hungary. Under the influence of her red face and golden sceptre, he continued to sell ale till she was no longer the favorite of his customers; he changed her, therefore, some time ago for the King of Prussia, who may probably be changed in turn for the next great man who shall be set up for vulgar admiration."

The republican sympathies of the people of this country, so far as they are indicated in the newspapers and the speeches of ambitious politicians, appear to have shifted from